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THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST ANTI-RACIST ORGANISATION

Liberation

INCORPORATING THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM

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Intervention on the question of Indonesia

Item 9 of the agenda of the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

August 1988

Submission to the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities
August, 1988

Respected members of the Sub-Commission,

There are in Indonesia today 1,410,333 people who are victims of systematic discrimination by the security forces, and central and regional government. Also victimised are the children and close relatives of these 1.4 million people, meaning that several million people are affected.

Millions of Indonesians are denied their civil rights, the right to a job, to freedom of movement, freedom of association, the right to take part in elections and in public life. The victims experience psychological terror and humiliation, they are required to attend compulsory indoctrination sessions and are subjected to pressure and extortion by military and civilian officials. They are treated like a special caste, like outcasts, because of alleged political affiliations of more than two decades ago, before October 1965. They have been turned into social pariahs, non-persons, with no legal redress, even no voice, against the manifold indignities they suffer at the hands of the authorities.

The 1.4 million core victims of discrimination are officially identified as "former political prisoners" (*ex-tapols* or ETs), or "former members of banned organisations" (*organisasi terlarang* or OT, organisations banned in 1966) or "persons who must report" (*wajib lapor*"). Usually they are lumped together as "ex-PKI", which infers that they were all members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which was also banned in 1966. Whether or not they were in fact communists is the beside the point, as far as the government is concerned. The designation "ex-PKI" is just a way of scapegoating hundreds of thousands of people. Moreover, the vast majority of the ex-prisoners were held without trial, most of them for many years. One would have thought they had suffered enough.

Discrimination has become a way of life for them. Their identity cards are marked by the initials ET or OT, to distinguish them from other citizens. At times, the government intensifies its campaign of villification against them, calling for "special measures" and "heightened vigilance", while newspapers spice their columns with far-fetched claims about the "latent danger of communism". At such times, things get very bad indeed.

This is happening at the present moment. On 4 June, the Minister-Coordinator for Social and Political Affairs announced that the security forces would re-examine the records of all "ex-political prisoners". Two weeks later, the Home Minister instructed provincial governors to up-date the files and intensify the monitoring and supervision of "all ex-PKI".

This is the fourth nationwide registration in less than a decade. The first was in 1979, the second in 1981, and the third in 1985. In 1981 and 1985, the declared purpose of re-registration was to decide who would be allowed to vote, while making it clear that none of them would be allowed to be elected. Although the vast majority have never been tried, and the one thousand or so who were tried have all served their sentences, the security authorities have powers under the Election Law to disenfranchise any "ex-PKI" considered "disloyal to the Constitution" or thought "to have disseminated Marxism-Leninism, or to have threatened state security" [**Suara Merdeka**, 25 September 1986]

Under Presidential Decision 63, 1985, 1.5 million people were scrutinised, to determine their right to vote. Everyone was checked even though they may have had no intention of voting. They were checked by the village chief and local military command; their documents were then counter-checked at all levels of administration and the army command structure before being passed to the National Election Committee, the special security command, Kopkamtib and the Ministry of the Interior. More than 40,000 were disenfranchised. According to an official of the East Java Election Committee, for example, 440,000 were scrutinised in that province. About 8,000 were disenfranchised. Why? Because "they were undisciplined, had left their place of residence without permission, were not friendly to their neighbours, were reluctant to take part in "*gotong royong*" (mutual coperation) or had received guests in their homes without telling the authorities". [**Merdeka**, 26 August 1986] As for the victims of this gigantic inquisition, their feelings could not be expressed. The press is banned from quoting them or publishing anything they write.

Re-registration this year is unrelated to any particular political event. The Minister of the Interior said simply that "they would be checked to see if they have moved, and if so, where to; if they have jobs, and if so where; and what their profession now is" [**Kompas**, 19 June 1988]. In other words, their right to a job is likely to be even further curtailed.

Regional administrations were instructed to re-examine all data and intensify supervision of all "ex-PKI". The authorities in East Java said in response that they do this on a regular basis anyway. They record concentrations of "ex-tapols" on a map, and have diagrams showing details of their identity, their degree of (pre-1965) political involvement and their present social activity. [**Surabaya Pos**, 27 June 1988] In Lampung, Sumatra, said another official, 52,305 "ex-tapols" are subjected to "re-registration, guidance and supervision every three months" [**Merdeka**, 6 July 1988]. It is "guidance and supervision" that enables local army officers to harass and persecute these defenseless people.

"Walap" or "the requirement to report" may sound like the least of their troubles. But imagine what this means to someone looking for a job in another district which may mean absenting him/herself when reporting is due. "Walap" has also given rise to a pernicious system of extortion against which these outcasts have no protection. "Walap" places them under town arrest; it means

that all their journeys need a permit from the security authorities.

A persistent allegation against "ex-PKI people" is that they always try to "cover their tracks" by changing their name, address, profession or appearance. Such allegations make them sound like criminals fleeing from justice. Yet their livelihoods have been been gravely jeopardised by discriminatory restrictions on employment.

"Ex-tapols" are prohibited from working in the civil service or anywhere in the huge government sector, as well as in all "vital" enterprises. In fact, the prohibitions go much farther than that. In 1985, the Director for Social-Political Affairs in Jogjakarta said that nine broad areas of activity are prohibited to "ex-tapols" according to a decree of the special security command (Kopkamtib) in 1975. These are: "anything to do with policy-making, anything relating to society, anything involving state secrets, anything involving the appointment of personnel, any responsibility for security, all diplomatic posts, anything relating to VIPs, and anything that may seem lowly but is in fact important". Moreover, he said, many professions are closed to "ex-tapols", except by special permission of the military authorities. They include lecturing, teaching, the clergy, preaching, the legal profession and journalism [**Sinar Harapan,** 25 September 1985]. The attached Kopkamtib Instruction on how permission may be granted shows how unlikely it is that anyone will bother to apply.

Jobs in the "non-vital" private sector are no less problematic. Any business intending to employ an "ex-tapol" must get permission from the local military command. Most companies are unwilling to do this for fear of being accused of "harbouring communists". People who do get jobs must often accept lower pay and expect less chance of promotion.

The 1975 Kopkamtib decree, which also established the system of job discrimination, defined the categories of persons affected by these discriminations, all relating to a 'coup attempt' in 1965 which, the government alleges, was engineered by the PKI. A-category is for those "who were directly involved"; B-category is for those "who were clearly indirectly involved"; and C-category is for those "who, it can reasonably be assumed, were directly or indirectly involved". A-category people, of whom there were never more than a few thousand, were the only ones ever to be tried. Considering the inbuilt political bias of the courts, the fact that they were all found guilty and given long sentences cannot be taken as proof of anything. There are still eighty or so of these political prisoners serving sentences; 16 have been under sentence of death for 15 years or more.

C-category is further sub-divided. C1s are alleged to have been involved in the "Madiun affair" forty years ago, which the government blames on the PKI. C2s are allegedly "former leaders of now-banned organisations" while C3s are allegedly "former rank-and-file members of now-banned organisations". (This all relates to membership when the organisations were still legal.) Most C2 and C3 people were never detained but have been under close supervision since 1965. Many were permitted to keep their jobs in government

service or in schools. However, they have to attend indoctrination sessions (*santiaji*) and have not been allowed promotion, upgrading or wage increases ever since of 1975 [**Kedaulatan Rakyat Minggu,** 25 May 1986]. The Minister-Coordinator for Social and Political Affairs recently announced that there were still 175,000 C2s and C3s in government service who would soon all be dismissed.

In November 1985, 1,700 oil-workers were dismissed by Caltex, Pertamina and Tesoro companies on orders of Kopkamtib, because they were C2s or C3s or "had family ties with former communists". A company manager expressed surprise at the compulsory sacking of "people employed with us for more than ten years and who had always satisfied us" [**New Straits Times,** 8 November 1985]. Four months later, dockworkers in Tanjung Perak were dismissed for similar reasons [**Suara Merdeka,** 13 March 1986]. A year later, thirty health service employees in Jogjakarta were sacked [**Kedaulatan Rakyat,** 14 March 1987]. Almost every month, one reads of C2 teachers being sacked all over the place. The workers, of course, have no legal redress against dismissal.

On top of this, three years ago, the government introduced a new system of discrimination based on so-called 'clean environment' (*bersih lingkungan*). Anyone applying for a job in the civil service or the government sector must prove they have no "ex-tapols" among their blood or marital relatives, including grandparents, in-laws, aunts and uncles. Only then can they obtain a 'clean-environment certificate' and a job.

Time permits me to list only a few other problems: "Ex-tapols" may not become transmigrants. A and B category people may not go on the pilgrimage to Mecca; C category people may go, but only with permission of the security authorities. "Ex-tapols" may not be elected onto the executives of cooperative societies or occupy positions in public life. Although they have had to attend indoctrination courses on the Pancasila ideology for years, they may not be awarded P4 certificates as proof of completing a course on Pancasila indoctrination. While all other citizens are ordered to become 'good Pancasilaists', "ex-tapols" are prohibited from doing so. In the bigoted atmosphere of present-day Indonesia, this means that they have been condemned to being fifth-rate citizens for life.

Indonesia is in breach of Articles 7, 13, 19 and 23 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is also in breach of Article 6 of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and Articles 25 and 26 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. We call on this Sub-Commission to bring the strongest pressure to bear on Indonesia to end this pernicious and inhumane system of discrimination and restore full civil rights to millions of Indonesians.

Thank you.

Document

KOPKAMTIB regulations on job permits for ex-tapols

The following document is a set of instructions from KOPKAMTIB, the security-intelligence command in Central Java and Jogjakarta on how to control the employment of ex-tapols. It sets out a long complex of procedures and regulations which must be complied with by both prospective employers and employees. Any such procedure would normally be fraught with bureaucratic complications and extra costs. Add to that the stigma of being an ex-tapol, and the incredibly detailed regulations in this document, and it is clear that the prospects of employment and a trouble-free life for ex-tapols have been put out of reach by yet more harassment from the military.

The implications of this telegram are already being realised in Java, as reports are received of people being dismissed from their jobs because of official pressure on their employees. Five teachers, ex-tapols, in Sragen and twenty more in Klaten have lost their jobs as a result of the instruction, and an Indonesian language teacher was dismissed from his SMA (secondary school) because the Mayor of Surabaya wrote to the school concerning his being an ex-prisoner.

TELEGRAM FROM: COMMANDER OF THE OPERATIONAL COMMAND FOR THE RESTORATION OF SECURITY AND ORDER (KOPKAMTIB)—CENTRAL JAVA AND JOGJAKARTA

IMMEDIATE AND SECRET

From the Special Executive Officer/Commander of the Regional KOPKAMTIB

To: All sub-regional commanders.
Heads of Social/Political Directors in Central Java and Jogjakarta.

Copies to: (the list includes assistants for territorial military affairs, Provincial Governor, Chief of Police, Public Prosecutor, Chairman of the High Court of Central Java, and officials in charge of provincial education, information, religious and health affairs, and the heads of second-level administrations throughout Central Java and Jogjakarta).

Number 226/Kamda/V/1983 30 May 1983

A. **Basics**

1. Instruction from the Minister of the Interior no. 32, 1981 and Technical Guide no. 730351/421 on the guidance and control of ex-G30S/PKI prisoners, both tried and untried.
2. Radiogram from the Commander of KOPKAMTIB no. TR 112/KOPKAM/V/1983 TWP 0511 1430 hours on decree for granting permits for ex/G30S/PKI prisoners to work as teachers/lecturers, doctors, priests/preachers, *dalang* (puppeteers), lawyers (Legal Aid Institute), journalists, writers/publishers, and so on.

B. In compliance with Basics (2) above, permits for ex-G30S/PKI people to engage in activities as teachers/lecturers, doctors, priests/preachers, *dalang* (puppeteers), lawyers (LBH), journalists, writers, publishers, and so on, shall be issued by the Special Executive Officer for the Region after careful investigation of the good intentions and conduct record of the ex/G30S/PKI prisoner in question.

C. The issue of such a permit shall not mean that these persons may become a government employee or an employee of a state corporation, or of other vital enterprises.

D For the Region of Central Java and Jogjakarta, applications for be made as follows:

1. The application shall be addressed to the Special Executive Officer/Commander of Regional KOPKAMTIB for the attention of the Assistant for Territorial Affairs, and shall be authorised by:
   a. Official in charge of social/political affairs of second-level administration
   b. Commander of the local district command
   c. Head of the local department or office concerned
2. The good conduct record, whether issued by the village or *lurah**, shall be authorised by:
   a. Head of the sub-district (*camat*)
   b. Commander of the sub-district military command (Koramil)
   c. A letter confirming good conduct from the local chief of police.
3. The prisoner's release document and certificate of classification/category, authorised by:
   a. Village head or *lurah*
   b. Sub-district chief (*camat*)
   c. Head of social/political affairs office of second-level administration in question
4. For those persons who have never been detained, and who have no certificate of classification or category, a declaration from the village head or *lurah* confirming the person's involvement in the G30S/PKI,** authorised by:
   a. Village head or *lurah*
   b. Sub-district chief (*camat*)
   c. Head of social/political affairs office of second-level administration in question.
5. A declaration of approval or of non-objection from the Department or Directorate head in question, and a letter from the Head of District (*bupati*) or Mayor, declaring that there are no objections to the person in question taking up a profession in their area.
6. Each permit shall remain in force for only two years, whereafter it must be renewed and a new application submitted to the Special Executive Officer of the Regional KOPKAMTIB, with the following attachments:
   a. the previous permit
   b. all the documents specified in points 1. to 5. above.

E. The application shall be submitted in triplicate by the individual in question personally to the Special Executive Officer/Commander of KOPKAMTIB for the attention of the Assistant for Territorial Affairs for the Region of Central Java and Jogjakarta: no intermediary may be used.

F. Whichever official to whom the application is addressed shall immediately check and investigate the said ex-G30S/PKI prisoner who has already taken up a profession as under B. above or who has already set up a company etc, whether with or without a permit or recommendation from the Special Executive Officer/Commander of KOPKAMTIB for Central Java and Jogjakarta, in order that the permit or renewal may be issued in accordance with point D. subsections 1. to 6. above, and those who are practising without a permit from the Special Executive Officer/Commander of KOPOKAMTIB for Central Java and Jogjakarta shall be deemed to have committed a breach, and their occupation shall be stopped.

G. This cable is an instruction and is to be used as the directive for guidance and control of ex-G30S/PKI people and as an intensification of SP3 BAKOM(?)

The end.

Telegram sent by

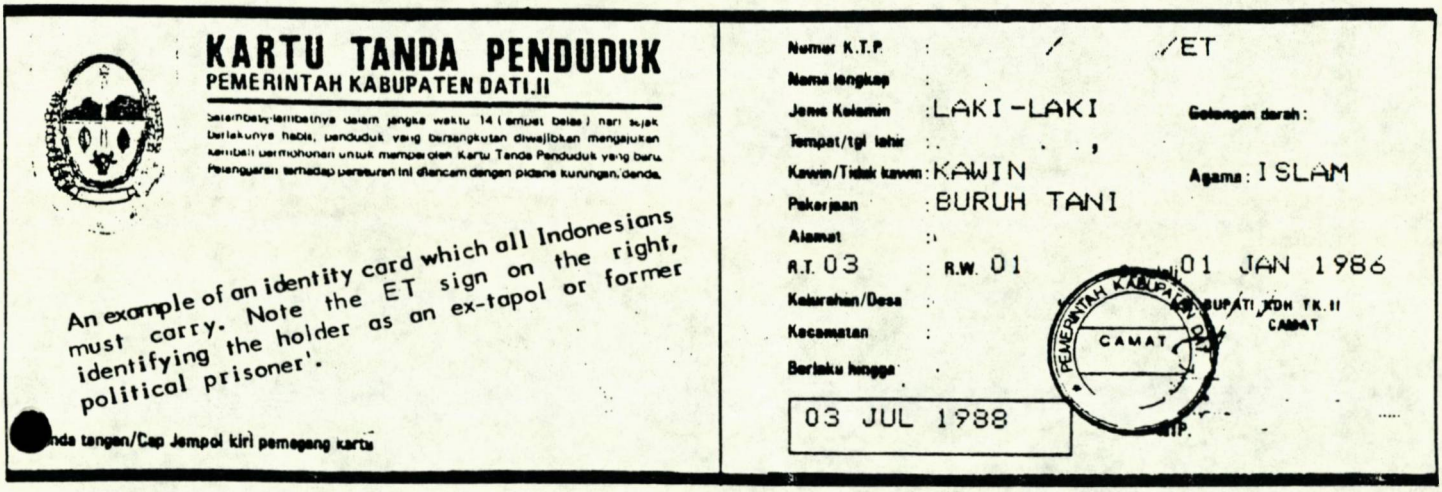
Brigadier-General Sarwono
Commander of the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (KOPKAMTIB) in Central Java and Jogjakarta

A fellow Indonesian

The following article, reproduced here in full, was written by Mahbub Djunaedi, a well-known columnist and member of the Muslim party, Nahdatul Ulama. It appeared in Kompas, on 8 May 1988.

He's now 64 years old. Back in 1965, he was a civil servant in quite a senior post and had been in the service for twenty-one years. At the time of the political events of that year, he went on working as usual, without anything happening.

Suddenly in March 1966 he was dishonorably dismissed as from 1 January 1966. He had received no advance warning that this would happen. He hadn't been suspended, nor screened, nor interrogated by anyone. The dismissal came like a bolt out of the blue.



KARTU TANDA PENDUDUK
PEMERINTAH KABUPATEN DATI.II

Selambat-lambatnya dalam jangka waktu 14 (empat belas) hari sejak berlakunya hasil, penduduk yang bersangkutan diwajibkan mengajukan kembali permohonan untuk memperoleh Kartu Tanda Penduduk yang baru. Pelanggaran terhadap peraturan ini diancam dengan pidana kurungan, denda.

Nomor K.T.P. : / /ET
Nama lengkap :
Jenis Kelamin : LAKI-LAKI — Golongan darah :
Tempat/tgl lahir : . . ,
Kawin/Tidak kawin : KAWIN — Agama : ISLAM
Pekerjaan : BURUH TANI
Alamat :
R.T. 03 : R.W. 01 — 01 JAN 1986
Kelurahan/Desa :
Kecamatan :
Berlaku hingga :
03 JUL 1988

PEMERINTAH KABUPATEN DT.II
CAMAT
BUPATI KDH TK.II
CAMAT

An example of an identity card which all Indonesians must carry. Note the ET sign on the right, identifying the holder as an ex-tapol or former political prisoner'.

Tanda tangan/Cap Jempol kiri pemegang kartu

His head of department felt so sorry for him that he advised him to complain to the central authorities. So he sent letters, asking for his case to be considered. He wrote to the commander of Kopkamtib (Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), to the leadership of Parliament, to V.B. da Costa, chairman of Parliament's Commission III and to Sabam Sirait, chairman of its Commission II. In his letters, he asked for an investigation to find out why he had been dismissed. Along with the letters, he sent statements from the local leaders of the PNI (the nationalist party) and the NU (the main Muslim party), testifying that he was clean.

From then on, things went well. He voted at the 1971 and 1977 general elections and no attempt was made to disqualify him. Superficially things seemed to be alright although he never received replies to any of his letters.

But then, in 1981, although he had heard nothing about any charges, he received a cruel shock, a letter from the Kopkamtib executive officer in Central Java saying that he had been classified as B1. He didn't even understand what B1 classification meant. As before, he was not summoned or investigated by anyone. He began to wonder whether this decision had been taken simply because he had written those letters. Had things got worse for him because of the letters?

Feeling desperate and at a loss to know what to do, he decided to leave things to the Almighty and to accept whatever difficulties might befall him even though he had no idea what he had done wrong. Having already done everything possible, what else could he do but surrender to fate and bow to the inevitable? If the rock looming ahead was so colossal and his hands too weak to shift it, what else could he do but sit back and hope that God and those in power would take pity on him?

* * *

But then what happened? He was not going to be allowed to live in peace. The waters that had been stilled began to swirl around him again. Why? He read an item of news on page XI of Kompas, on 3 February this year. He was still to be haunted by anxiety. The newspaper reported that the West Java Education and Culture Office was conducting clearance tests for all elementary school teachers in the region. Everyone affected by the screening had to buy three copies of the screening book costing Rp. 1,250 each and twelve 3-by-4 passport photos. This was the second time tests were being

RED DRIVE

When your name is on a list

"This was the most terrible thing that could possibly have happened. It was as if they had murdered me," said the grey-haired writer, lamenting his fate. He spoke in a soft, unemotional voice, picking his words carefully. "I am not entitled to anything, not even my pension."

The cause of the calamity was a letter he received from the Department of Education and Culture on 24 May notifying him that he had been dishonorably dismissed as senior lecturer at the Faculty of Communications, Pajajaran University, Bandung. This automatically meant he could no longer teach either at the Police Academy or at the Infantry's Centre of Education in Bandung.

The dismissal followed a charge that he had once been a member of the outlawed organisation, Lekra, the League of People's Culture, an organisation associated with the PKI. "I have no idea how my name ever came to be on Lekra's list," he told Tempo.

Let us call this father of four Sukresna. He joined the staff of Unpad in 1969. His dismissal notice was retrospective from 1 September last year. "This means that I must pay back the wages I have received for the last seven months."

He realised that his name had once been connected with Lekra but thought that it had all been cleared up. "I reported myself and asked to be screened. This all happened in 1965 and 1966, through the military commands, Koramil and Kodim, through the Police and the local government. Everything was cleared up and I was allowed to resume my studies." He graduated in communications studies in 1969.

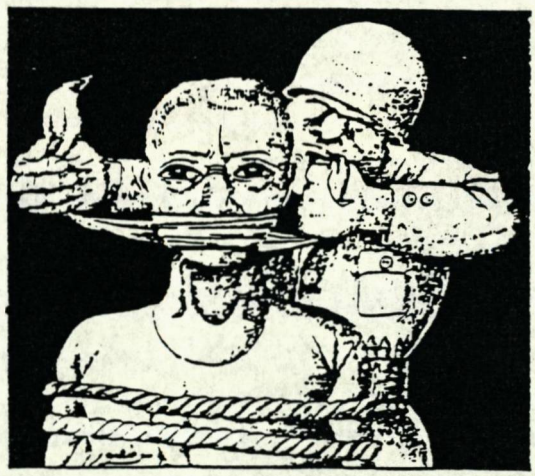
On the invitation of the Russian Writers Union, he once visited Moscow, and visited North Korea and China. On these trips, he travelled with the Jogjakarta writer, W.S. Rendra. He was amazed because he was constantly identified as the editor of Syntes a, the journal of the pro-PKI students' organisation, CGMI. "This is how the PKI dragged people down," he said.

In 1965, two short novels of his, Api and Si Rangka, were banned because of the Lekra charge. He had no chance to challenge this, so he continued to be regarded as a Lekra writer. Who now has plotted his downfall?

He thinks the trouble started four years ago. He had been ordered to leave his home which was being taken over for a local government project. But because the lecturers' homes in Cigadung were not yet ready for use, he moved in to a house on Jalan Sekeloa. The Dean of the Faculty gave him two weeks to leave, but Sukresna refused to move, asking first to be allowed to complete various formalities. "Because of this, I came to be regarded as a rebel."

There were many repercussions, and the conflict with the Faculty went on for ages. Sukresna came out the loser. Two years later, he was investigated by the Inspector-General of the Department on the Lekra question. This time too, things were cleared up, but later on, he was again called to account, this time by the West Java special Kopkamtib officer (Laksusda). Again, he emerged unscathed. "I can only conclude that the letter I have now received from the Department of Education was sent at the prompting of the Faculty and has nothing to do with the Laksusda."

Sukresna's dismissal came as a great shock to H.B.



Jassin, the well-known literary critic and editor of Kisah, a journal which often publishes short stories by Kresna. "He's not a member of Lekra. He's not a communist," insists Jassin. Jassin regards Kresna as a writer who was attracted by socialist realism, who speaks out for justice and humanitarianism.

Some writers with views like this got taken on board by Lekra, consciously or unconsciously. It's hard luck for those who never became members but whose names appear to have been included on the skipper's list.

[Translated from **Tempo**, 16 July 1988.] ☆